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ABSTRACT

Tutelo is a Siouan language that was once spoken in Virginia and the Carolinas. Before it died out, a few scholars collected enough data on the language to elicit the main features and characteristics of the language. This paper looks at the noun in Tutelo. Specific focus is on the shape of the root, the marking of gender and number, the expression of possession, the process of making a noun into a verb, and the place of the noun within the sentence. (JL)

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NOUNS IN TUTELO

Giulia R. M. Oliverio

Abstract: My purpose in this paper is to sketch the different features of noun grammar in Tutelo, a Siouan language of the East. A description of derivational processes will not be attempted here though as much more study is required before an accurate account can be given.

Tutelo is a Siouan language that used to be spoken in Virginia and the Carolinas, away from the rest of the Siouan stock. Before it died out a few scholars collected data on the language, a limited amount but perhaps sufficient to elicit the main features and characteristics of Tutelo.

This paper is a first systematic study of the noun in Tutelo. It will look into the shape of the root, the marking of gender and number, the expression of possession, the process of making a noun into a verb, and the place of the noun within the sentence.

1. Root

It is not always clear what the actual root of a noun is. Some nouns end with a -CV sequence and some others with a -CVC sequence; and *some* of the former type allow the elision of the final vowel. This usually occurs when the noun is followed by another word, especially one that modifies it, but this phenomenon is not consistent. On the other hand, words that do retain their final vowel do so consistently.

But to this root a suffix *-i* or a suffix *-x* or *-h* is sometimes added. Several sets of nouns show this alternation *-i/-x* but the glosses given show no difference in meaning. As no trace of article is found anywhere in the data but all other Siouan languages do have some kind of determiner, it could be inferred that these suffixes are used to denote definiteness and indefiniteness. Mandan displays a similar set of articles, the suffix *-ɛ* being the indefinite article and *-s* the definite, and the Tutelo suffixes may be reflexes of this set. But this is only a hypothesis,

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the more so as the interpretation of these suffixes as articles is challenged by a study of cognate words in other Siouan languages showing that some Tutelo words end with a *k* not found elsewhere and very similar to the usual form of the Siouan article: *ki/kį*. Only further study will shed light on the nature and function of these different suffixes.

2. Gender and Number

Gender There is nothing in the data indicating that a distinction of gender exists, be it between masculine and feminine or animate and inanimate.

In this respect Tutelo seems to differ from most other Siouan languages.

Number There does not seem to be any inflection for number on the noun itself. Other means are necessary to denote plurality versus singularity: the use of numerals, adjective reduplication, or 'verbalization' of the noun (see 4).

Numerals: The numeral follows the noun it modifies. The suffix *-i* previously mentioned then attaches to the numeral -- it attaches to the noun phrase.

(1) mihą· nǫsa-i
woman one -suf
'one woman'

(2) mihą nǫpa-i
woman two -suf
'two women'

Reduplication of the Adjective: When used with an adjective, the plural is marked by reduplication of part of the adjective.

(3) a:ti: asą́
house white
'a white house'

a:ti: asąsą́sel
house white-reduplicated
'white houses'

The accented syllable of the adjective is reduplicated and then in the plural form the second of the two similar syllables is accented. A suffix *-sel* (or *-se*) is added to the reduplicated form, a verbal suffix according to Hale (1883) so that it would have become a stative verb; and (3) would actually mean 'they are white houses'.

As said earlier, the noun itself is not inflected for number but in a few plural glosses and some where number was uncertain (either singular or plural) some nouns looked as if they had undergone reduplication themselves.

(4)	ste:k	Hale: 'an island'
	steste:ki	Hale: 'an island' Dorsey: 'probably,islands'
	hasisia:i	'a raspberry, raspberries'
	? čuča:ki	'finger-nails'
	? atkasusai	'toes'

But without more examples, it is difficult to infer anything on this matter from these instances.

3. Possession

There are two types of possession in Tutelo: inalienable possession and alienable possession. The former expresses a stronger link between the possessor and the 'possessed' than the latter.

Inalienable Possession The nouns that are marked as inalienably possessed are nouns referring to kinship terms, body parts, and the words for 'friend' and 'house'.

The verbal patient pronouns given in (5) are used to denote inalienable possession, and they are prefixed (and two are suffixed to mark plural number) to the noun.

(5)	singular	plural	
1st person	wi-	wae-/wai-	
2nd person	yi-/hi-	yi-/hi-	-pui
3rd person	e-/ei-/i-	e-/ei-/i-	(-lei/-hlei)

(6)	sɣtka	'younger brother'
	wi-sɣtk	'my younger brother'
	yi-sɣtk	'your (sg) younger brother'
	e-sɣtka	'his/her younger brother'
	wai-sɣtka	'our younger brother'
	yi-sɣtka-pu:i	'your (pl) younger brother'
	ei-sɣtka	'their younger brother'

But for body part terms the prefixes are different from the set given above, although related. In the data are five instances of body part nouns used with possessive prefixes and four of them have the following set of prefixes:

(7)	wɣta-		'my'
	yɣta-		'your (sg)'
	eta-		'his/her'
	yɣta-	-pu:i	'your (pl)'

(8)	su:	'eyes'
	wɣta-su:	'my eyes'
	yɣta-su:	'your (sg) eyes'
	eta-su:	'his/her eyes'

The fifth instance, the word for 'leg', does not follow that pattern though:

(9)	ni:	'leg'
	wi-ni:	'my leg'
	yi-ni:	'your (sg) leg'
	e-ni:	'his/her leg'

But all the above set was derived by Hale and Dorsey from only one attested form: *wini:* 'my leg'. And there is another attested form for 'leg': *ieksa:* or *yeksa:*, which is totally different. This last example should then be used with caution.

On the other hand though some body part terms might take different possessive prefixes than others as is the case in other Siouan languages. But with only five instances in the known Tutelo data this issue cannot be settled.

The words for 'father' and 'house' show irregularities when possession is expressed:

(10)	a:ti:	'house'
	ewa:ti:	'my house'
	eya:ti:	'your (sg) house'
	ea:ti:	'his/her house'
	ewa:nti:/ewą:ti:	'our house'
	eya:ti:pu:i	'your (pl) house'
	ea:ti:lei	'their house'
(11)	? a:t	'father'
	ta:t	'my father'
	ya:t/ita:ti	'your (sg) father'
	ea:t	'his/her father'
	ewaa:t	'our father'
	eya:tpu:i	'your (pl) father'
	?	'their father'

Because these two words begin with a vowel the vowel of the possessive prefix is elided. But the different forms of 'house' show another irregularity, as do some forms of 'father'. A supplementary prefix *e-* is found throughout the set for 'house' and in a few instances for 'father', and a few other words display this prefix in parts of their possessive paradigms. But nothing in the glosses suggests its function. Rankin (personal communication) suggests that this prefix might be a reflex of Proto-Siouan **ʔe:*, deictic 'this', as the informant(s) might have answered a question with 'This is my house'. For the second person singular of the word 'father', two forms are given. The first one is the one that fits the rest of the paradigm and it refers to one's own father. The second form refers to someone else's father and it is the only attested form for this term.

Alienable Possession Alienable possession is used with all other nouns, although the limited data might conceal some irregularities such as the use of this type of possession with a few body part terms as is found in other Siouan languages.

To express alienable possession, a possessive adjective follows the noun it modifies. It seems to be a lengthened form of the verbal patient pronouns used for inalienable possession but the rest of the adjective has so far defied analysis.

(12)	wi̧ki:towi /	wi̧ki:towe	'my'
	yi̧ki:towi /	yi̧ki:towe	'your (sg)'
	ki:towi /	ki:towe	'his/her'
	mahki:towi /	mahki:towe	'our'
	yi̧ki:to̧pu:i		'your (pl)'
	ki:tohlei		'their'

(13)	hise:p	'axe'
	hise:p wi̧ki:towi	'my axe'
	hise:p yi̧ki:yowi	'your (sg) axe'
	hise:p ki:towi	'his/her axe'
	hise:p mahki:towi	'our axe'
	hise:p yi̧ki:to̧pu:i	'your (pl) axe'
	hise:p ki:tohlei	'their axe'

But a totally different set of adjectives is used with the word for 'dog':

(14)	čhu̧k	'dog'
	čhu̧k wahki̧pi	'my dog'
	čhu̧k yahki̧pi	'your (sg) dog'
	čhu̧k eohki̧pi	'his/her dog'
	čhu̧k mahki̧pi	'our dog'
	čhu̧k yahki̧pu:i	'your(pl) dog'
	čhu̧k ki̧pena	'their dog'

These possessive adjectives seem to be derived from the verbal actor pronouns which are as follows:

(15)	wa	'I'
	ya	'you'
	wae/wai/mą/mąk	'we'

It is difficult to conclude anything from this exception affecting a single noun in the whole data. But the fact that verbal actor pronouns seem to function as possessive adjectives might suggest that they are actually verbs, although the glosses do not give any evidence for this.

Another irregularity in the denotation of alienable possession is found with the words for 'pocket handkerchief' and 'stick'. The first person singular possessive adjective (the only one recorded) is different from the regular form given in (12):

(16)	mihąsa	'pocket handkerchief'
	mihąsa wikitą	'my pocket handkerchief'

(17)	hąksik	'stick'
	hąksik wikitą	'my stick'

The change is only in the last syllable of the adjective, which is still very similar to its regular counterpart (cf. the regular second person plural adjective in (12)). The difference in meaning between the two, if there is any, might be very slight. But it is not possible to infer it from the data.

4. Verbalization of the Noun

A noun can be made into a stative verb by affixing the verbal patient pronouns to it (see (5)).

(18) wahta:ka -i
man, Indian -suf
'a man, an Indian'

wa -yi- hta:ka-i
-you(sg)-
'you are an Indian'

Person and number then are marked as they would be on a verb.

But if there is an adjective modifying the noun, the adjective and not the noun will be made into a stative verb, thanks to the same set of pronouns.

5. Nouns and Word Order

As mentioned before, an adjective or a numeral follows the noun it modifies. With verbs though, the position of the noun does not seem to be of importance: whether subject or object, it can be placed before or after the verb.

(19) ku- wi- ne -na , mi Jan
neg- 1st Pat- see -neg , but John
'I did not see him, but John saw him'

hi- ne -ka
?- see -past

(20) uklese wita:
float deer
'A deer floats'

(21) istik ya i- wa- ǫða wi- latkusi
stone ? instr-1stAct-use 1stPat-break
'I will break the stick by using a stone'

ta hąksik
fut stick

(22) hinosik-ya i- wa- ǫða wa- kte
bow -? instr-1stAct-use 1stAct-shoot
'I will break a stick by shooting at it

ta hąksik wi- latkusi ta
fut stick 1stPat-break fut
using a bow'

There is no basic word order, the placement of the subject or object noun before or after the verb does not change the meaning of the sentence. But Hale (1883) mentions that if the speaker wants to emphasize something in a sentence he will place it at the beginning.

This free word order is not found in other Siouan languages which are mostly SOV languages. This is an innovation in Tutelo as it was isolated from the rest of the Siouan stock and was influenced by Tuscarora, a neighboring Iroquoian language. Indeed the Tutelo and Tuscarora tribes had friendly relations with one another, relations that went as far as the adoption of the Tutelos within the Tuscarora tribe. And Tuscarora is a language with no set basic word order (Williams, 1976) as the rich pronominal inflection on the verb is sufficient to avoid ambiguities. Tutelo verbal inflection being similar, although not as rich as in Tuscarora, the evolution from SOV --which Tutelo must have been at one time -- to free word order was possible.

Conclusion

This paper has dealt with all the aspects relevant to the noun in Tutelo: the root, the article, number marking, inalienable and alienable possession, and word order. In each of these areas problems have been uncovered, the main one being the existence and form of an article. The next steps in the understanding of Tutelo noun morphology are the study of the rest of Tutelo grammar and the search for cognates in other Siouan languages so that the problems

raised in this paper may be solved.

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